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XXXII. *Remarks on an erroneous Explanation of one of the Inscriptions at Naksh-i-Rustam, occurring in the "Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse, par le BARON SILVESTRE DE SACY."* By ROBERT COTTON MONEY, Esq., Secretary Bombay Br. R.A.S.

(Communicated by the Bombay Branch ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.)

Read the 7th of March 1832.

THE BARON DE SACY, in his essay on the inscriptions and sculptures at *Naksh-i-Rustam*,* by way of reconciling the historical relation to the representation itself, is led to assert that the design illustrates the conquest of ARDASHÍR over the last sovereign of the *Arsacidæ*, or the contest for the crown. The inscription on the horse belonging to the monarch, supposed to be one of the *Arsacidæ*, as copied from NIEBUHR's plate, is ΤΟΥ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΚΩΠΙΟΝ ΔΙΟC ΘΕΟΥ, and M. de SACY imagines that the Greek who traced it, if the word be ΔΙΟC, was ignorant of the deity whose name is inserted in the other inscription, i.e. *μασδάσπε*, and gives it as his opinion that the inscription, rightly translated, originally meant,

" This is the representation of the god HORMUZD,"

one of the last Sassanian kings. From an inspection of the monument, I conceive this to be an error.

In the BARON DE SACY's work,† the inscription A No. 3, belongs to the figures at *Naksh-i-Rajab*; B No. 3, to one of the two mounted kings whom he supposes to be engaged in a contest for the throne, viz. to that one who carries a globe on his head; and C No. 3, is on the breast of the horse, whose rider is engaged in disputing his opponent's claim; it must evidently therefore have reference to the figures above it.

* *Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse*, etc. 4to. Paris, 1793, pp. 63 and 107, Plate I. The inscriptions explained in this work by the Baron de SACY, were copied from those published by NIEBUHR.

† *Mémoires*, etc. Plate I.

The Baron says that ΔIOC is misplaced here through ignorance or misconception; and suggests that the word was *Hormisdas*, which it could not possibly be, if the same person is also the last king of the *Arsacidæ*: it is in the word supposed to be ΔIOC that the mistake lies. On examining the inscriptions with minuteness (before I had seen Baron DE SACY's work), the first letter of that word appeared to me evidently not to be a *delta* (Δ), or it must have faded since the time of ΝΙΕΒΥΗΡ, for a semicircle (is now plainly visible in its place, to the right of which, and a little above, I could trace another curve thus \frown ; then followed what certainly appeared to be IOC, but which, for reasons I now offer, I think must have been IOΥ.

The figure on the left, carrying the globe, exactly resembles those seen on many of the Sassanian coins, particularly on such as bear the head of ARDASHÍR; the globe appears to be symbolic of royalty in its plenitude of power, and was an emblem peculiar to the monarchs of that dynasty.

It is remarkable that on all the Sassanian coins, no two kings wear the same kind of crown or cap, and that those which represent the face and head of SHÁPÚR, invariably have the *flat cap*, on which the globe is placed. The person supposed by M. DE SACY to be the Arsacian king carries a head-dress exactly similar, but without the globe. Another singular circumstance is, that so far from seeming to dispute about the ring they hold between them, ARTAXERXES or ARDASHÍR is represented more as giving it into the hands of the other individual, who has firmly grasped it, while the former seems scarcely to retain it. It is a fact well known in Persian history, that ARDASHÍR, after a long and prosperous reign, resigned the government into the hands of his son and retired into private life; an act so unusual would naturally induce the son to commemorate it by a monument like the one I have just described, together with others illustrating the actions of ARDASHÍR, which there is no doubt that the figures ranged below were designed to celebrate; while the memorials of his own exploits are confined to the sculptures at *Naksh-i-Rajab*, where the inscription * containing his name is to be found.

Should this be the case, it would not be unreasonable to infer that the words on the horse's breast are ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΚΛΗΘΗΝ ΤΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ; and not ΔIOC, which is unintelligible and inexplicable. If the fact is so,

* Mem. Plate I, A No. 3.

then both the statues, the inscriptions, and the historical relations, bear each other out: and should it be ΥIOT , beyond all doubt the figure is that of SHÁPUR, the son of ARDASHÍR. The $\Upsilon\text{IOT}\Theta\text{EOT}$ occurs thrice in the other inscription after the king's name. Here no name is given: the father's is inscribed on the opposite horse, and it is simply said on this, "This is the representation of the son of (the) God;" the usual title given to ARDASHÍR. Had it been a conquered king, pride would have induced the monarch who erected this as a national monument to explain more clearly the circumstances, either in the words which point him out to be the conqueror, or in those which would have designated the vanquished prince. Had it been intended to show that the latter was contending for the sovereignty, he would not have been distinguished by symbols of power which he did not possess; and there is too striking a difference between the head-dress of the Parthian kings and that here traced, for it possibly to represent one of them, as is supposed by M. DE SACY. I conceive that M. DE SACY was not aware of these words being inscribed on one of the horses in this set of figures, nor am I certain of its having been before explained. The correction of so important an error is principally interesting from its authenticating an extraordinary fact recorded in Persian history.*

NOTE.

THE Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY having considered it proper to submit a copy of the preceding Paper to the Baron DE SACY, that gentleman has favoured the Council with the following remarks on the point at issue:

" Cette inscription † est la plus courte de celles dont j'ai entrepris l'interprétation, et je l'ai mise sous la lettre C. Dans la partie grecque, si l'on s'en rapporte à la copie de NIEBUHR, elle ne contient que ces mots: $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \tau\acute{o}\ \pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\nu\ \Delta\iota\acute{o}\varsigma\ \Theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon$. M. MONEY qui sans doute a visité lui-même ces monumens de l'époque des Sassanides, assure qu'au lieu de $\Delta\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$, il y a réellement $\nu\acute{i}\acute{o}\varsigma$. Je lui dois le connoissance de la place qu'occupe cette inscription, circonstance que je n'ai pas pu prendre en considération, puisque NIEBUHR avoit négligé de l'indiquer. J'ai essayé de rendre raison de ce qu'il y a de singulier à

* In the first volume of Sir ROBERT KER PORTER's Account of his Travels in Persia, &c. (4to. London, 1820), will be found a detailed description of this, among the other sculptures at *Naksh-i-Rustam*; it is illustrated by a plate containing *fac-similes* of the inscriptions. Sir ROBERT adopts Baron DE SACY's explanation of the monument.

† C No. 3, Mém. Plate I.

trouver le nom d'une divinité grecque sur un monument persan, par une supposition : c'est que l'original persan contenoit le nom d'ORMUZD, qui dans l'intention de l'auteur de l'inscription, étoit le nom d'un prince SASSANIDE, mais que le traducteur grec avoit pris pour celui du plus grand des dieux ou des *izeds* de la Perse, auquel il avoit substitué celui du plus grand des dieux de la Grèce. M. MONEY observe que cette inscription étant placée sur le cheval opposé à celui sur lequel se lit l'inscription d'ARDESCHIR, on ne peut pas admettre qu'il y soit question d'un roi SASSANIDE du nom d'ORMUZD ou HOURMUZD. Il veut que le cavalier qui monte ce cheval, soit SAPOR, fils et successeur d'ARDESCHIR, et expliquant tous les autres *bas-reliefs* où se voit une représentation semblable, par celui-ci, il en conclut qu'ils ont tous rapport—non ainsi que je l'avois conjecturé, au triomphe d'ARDESCHIR sur ARDEVAN, mais à la cession faite par ARDESCHIR de la couronne à son fils SAPOR.

“ Je conviens que mon explication, purement conjecturale, est sujette à d'assez fortes objections, et que le lieu où est tracée la petite inscription, ne lui est point favorable. Mais il me semble qu'il y a des objections au moins aussi fortes, contre le système de M. MONEY : 1°. Il est possible que depuis NIEBUHR, c. à d. soixante-dix ans environ, un accident ait endommagé la lettre Δ de *διός* ; 2°. C'est purement par une conjecture arbitraire que M. MONEY y substitue un Τ ; 3°. Il ne fait pas attention que dans l'inscription *Pehlvi* correspondante, on lit אורחם, c'est-à-dire, les premières lettres du nom d'ORMUZD ; 4°. Il substitue, uniquement parceque cela lui est nécessaire, *υιού* à *υιός* que porte, suivant lui-même, le monument ; 5°. Enfin il ne réfléchit pas que si l'on eût voulu dire, sans énoncer aucun nom propre, *la figure du fils du Dieu*, on auroit dit, sans doute, τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ces deux dernières observations me semblent peremptoires contre l'opinion de M. MONEY.”